to my dear old friend the Queen

Umar

UMBRIA CAPTA.

Read before the Philological Section of the Canadian Institute.

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I have the honour to present to the Canadian Institute a new interpretation of the Umbrian portion of the Eugubine Tables. I have to remark at the outset, that I have derived very great assistance, as well in the interpretation of the fables as in the preparation of the geographical and ethnological notes which are appended, from the Rev. Professor Campbell, of Montreal, whose learning and researches in this particular field of investigation have been conspicuously exhibited in his *Etruria Capta.* It will be possible, I believe, to adduce satisfactory evidence to show that Gaelic is the language of the Umbrian Tables ; and that, accordingly, they present to us altogether the oldest specimen that has hitherto been discovered, of Irish and Scottish Gaelic. As even the learned and laborious Celtic Grammarian Zeuss was not led to turn his attention to the Gaelic characters of those Tables, no material assistance is furnished by his elaborate Grammar in determining the grammatical forms of what has to be regarded now as the oldest Gaelic composition in the world. Mr. Whitley Stokes who has given extensive and scholarly attention to old and early middle Irish Glosses, enables us to perceive, *e.g.*, in his *Goidelica*—that the Turin Glosses, etc., and the Irish Hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum*, forming as those do some of the oldest Irish compositions of which we have had hitherto any knowledge—present fully cs large combinations of words and peculiarities of grammatical construction as are to be found in the Umbrian Tables. The same remark may be made regarding the very old specimen of Scottish

Gaelic which is contained in the Book of Deir; and also regarding the first book which was printed in Scottish Gaelic; viz., the Gaelic translation of John Knox's Liturgy, by Bishop Carswell of Argyll. It was published in 1567.

In his History of Rome (Vol. I. p. 160), Mommsen states that "our information regarding the migration of Umbrian stocks comes to us like the sound of bells from a town that has been sunk in the sea." Niebuhr in his History of Rome (Vol. I. p. 143) thus writes : "It is certain that the Umbrians were a great nation before the time of the Etrurians in the age of the Sicilians, and that they have the right to the name of a most ancient and genuine people of Italy." The same learned writer remarks in his Ethnography and Geography (Vol. II. p. 209) "that people have been extremely anxious to discover the Etrurian language, and who should not be so? I would readily give a considerable part of my property as a prize to any one who should discover it. An entirely new light would thereby be thrown upon the character of the nations of Italy."

The *Tabulae Eugubinae* were discovered in 1444 among th ruins of a Theatre in the neighbourhood of Gubbio in Umbria. Gubbio is the modern name of Iguvium. It has been maintained that those Tablets which were made, as Concioli asserts, *ex aere purissimo*, were originally nine in number. Two of the Tablets which were conveyed to Venice in 1540, have, it is to be feared, been irrecoverably lost. The seven that remain are preserved in the Palazzo Municipale of Gubbio. Tablets I., II., V. and VI. are engraved on both sides. A blank space is left on one side of Tablet II. and V. A few lines merely are engraved on one side of Tablet VII. The Inscriptions on Tablets VI. and VII. and nearly all the Inscriptions on one side of Tablet V. are in Roman letters.

According to the computation of Aufrecht and Kirchoff:

Table VI., *a*, has 59 lines.
Table VI., *b*, has 65 lines.
Table VII., *a*, has 54 lines.
Table VII., *b*, has 4 lines.
Table V., *b*, has 11 lines.

There are thus 193 lines in the Umbrian portion of the Eugubine Tables.

In his preface to his *Les Tables Eugubines*, Professor Bréal gives an interesting account of the various efforts which have been made

to interpret those Tables. It is noteworthy, from a Celtic point of view, that there appeared in 1772 a work by Stanisias Bardetti, in which he endeavoured to explain the Umbrian Inscriptions principally by the aid of Anglo-Saxon, old High German and Celtic. In an article on the Eugubine Tables which occurs in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, it is stated among other things that " Aufrecht and Kirchhoff, summing up the labours of their predecessors and working according to strict scientific method, brought the interpretation of the Tables to a degree of perfection that could hardly have been hoped for, though there still remained in matters of detail sufficient scope for such investigators as Bréal, Ebel, Corssen, etc." Professor Bréal's *Les Tables Eugubines* was published in 1875. As, in addition to his own unambiguous asseverations, he has come to be regarded as having at last succeeded in giving an intelligible and satisfactory solution of the Umbrian Inscriptions, it is advisable to insert here the conclusions at which he has arrived. " The Eugubine Tables are the acts of a Corporation of priests who had their seats at Iguvium, and whose authority appears to have extended over a somewhat large extent of the adjacent country. They call themselves the Attidian Brethren, and the name of the Confraternity is given to the College. They are twelve in number. Different names of magistracy such as questor and fratrecks are mentioned. The person who plays the principal part has the title of *adfertur*. . . . It does not appear that the Attidian Confraternity was specially devoted to the service of a single divinity. We perceive that it offered sacrifices to an entire series of gods and goddesses. Thanks to that circumstance, the Eugubine Tables furnish us with precious indications of the Pantheon of an Italian people. Certain names coincide exactly with Roman names. Such are Jupiter, Sancus and Mars. Other names present a resemblance more or less remote as Fiscus, Grabovius, Cerfius. Other names, again, were entirely unknown, as Vofonius, Tefer, Trebus, etc. We have here, then, the monuments of an indigenous worship which the Roman religion had not yet effaced."

I have taken from the Umbrian Inscriptions certain words which any one who has even a moderate knowledge of Irish or Scottish Gaelic, can have no difficulty in admitting to be Gaelic. The combinations which are formed between prepositions and personal pronouns in Gaelic, present a striking peculiarity of the Gaelic languages. Pictet in his *De l' affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le*

Sanscrit (pp. 170. 171.) virtually maintains that the points of difference between the Celtic languages and the other members of the Indo-European family of languages are confined, " to the permutation of initial consonants, and to the composition of personal pronouns with prepositions." " Quant aux composès pronominaux. . . . s'ils sont étrangers aux autres branches de la famille ils offrent une analogie tres curieuse avec les langues finnoises." In his *Grammatica Celtica* (p. 324.) Zeuss writes " Pronominum in utraque lingua, tam Hibernica quam Britannica ea proprietas est, ut non semper ut in aliis linguis Indeuropaeis per se posita plenam formam servent, sed etiam. . . . si sunt personalia post praepositiones suffigantur." It thus appears that Scholars like Pictet and Zeuss regard the composition of personal pronouns with prepositions as a peculiar feature in the Celtic languages.

I have chosen to consider the prepositional pronouns which I am about to cite and which occur repeatedly in the Inscriptions, *in* and *by* themselves, and apart from the particular meaning which they may bear in the place which they occupy in the Tables; in order that thus their purely Gaelic character may appear in its simplest manner.

Esto, as iad, asta, out of them.

Este, aiste, out of her.

Eesteso, aiste so, out of this one, *an deigh so*, after this.

Est, asad, out of thee, *asda*, out of them.

Eso, as so, out of this.

Dersva, dar iad, thar iad and *tharta*, over them.

Dersas, dar thar iadsan, asan, thart over them.

Dersaus, thar iadsan, thartasan, over them or over these very persons.

Nersa, air ais, back and backwards.

Erus, air ais, back and backwards.

Eno, ann e, ann, in him.

Eam, annam, in me, an agamwith me *aig d mi*.

Erer, air ear, air an ear, on the east.

Erar, air iar, air an iar, on the west.

Enom, ann mi, annam, in me.

Ero, air e, air, in him, *air thu, ort*, in thee.

Erom, air mi, orm, on me.

Esome, asmi, asam, out of me.

Aso, as thu, asad, out of thee.

Ouse, o or *bho thusa uait uaitse,* from thee.

Ose, o bho se e uaithe, from him.

Etru, eatorra, between them, *eadar thu,* between thee.

Deitu, do thusa, duit, duitsa, to thee.

Difne, do sibh, duibh, duibhse, to you.

Fri, (Irish) with by.

Frif, fri sibh, with and by you.

Frite, fri iad, iadsan, by and with them.

Treif, tre sibh tromhaibh, through you.

Vovse, bho sibhse, bhuaibhse, uaibhse, from you.

Pusi, bho si i, from her.

Puse, bho se e, from him.

Reste, ri or *ris ise iadsan,* to her, to them.

*Riutha, riuthasan,*to them, t sve

I shall now cite several words which reveal their Gaelic lineage at a glance, and which along with the prepositional compounds that have been enumerated, go far to establish the Gaelic character of the Umbrian Inscriptions.

Enetu, an aite, in place of.

Nesimei, a m' ionnsuidh, to or towards me, *ionnsaighim,* I attack.

Ficla, fo cheile, asunder.

Hondra, aon trath, one time, *an trath,* the time, when.

Screihtor, sgriosadair, a destroyer.

Verisco, fearachas, manhood.

Esona, easaon, without one, disagreeing.

Socair, quiet.

Ferine, fearran, ainn, land.

Arvio, arbhar, corn.

Heri, or oir, gold.

Vini, fainne, ring.

Poni, bonn buinn, coin coins.

Scalseto, sgaoil, scatter.

Tases, pl., *Tasetor, toiseach,* a leader, the *Intosh* in MacIntosh, the *Toiseach* of Mediaeval times in Scotland.

Suront, saor, free, *aonta,* consent.

Serse, srac, tear.

Seritu, saruich. harass.

Esisco, sasuich, satisfy.

Paca, bac, restrain.

Osatu, osadh, osaim, I desist.
Fetu, faighteadh, faigh, get.
Covertor, cobhartach, booty.
Pstotu,isdeadh, br isd, break. *br*
Portatu, furtaich, help.
Eine, feadhainn, people, *fine,* a tribe.
Cuirnase, cuir, put.
Mehe, maoidh, threaten.
Ote, eadhon, even.
Mucatu, mothuich, perceive.
Arsir, aithris, tell.
Porsi, purr, push.
Trebeit, tearb, separate.
Ehcleir, ath-ghlac, capture again.
Sent, sannt, desire.
Tote, tath, tathaim, (Ir.), unite.
Tuer, taobh, side with.
Naratu, an iarruidh, iarr, ask.
Strusla, sruthail, streachlaim, I tear.
Farsio, bris, break.
Tenitu, thig, thainig, come.
Persontu, brosnuich, incite.
Efrar, tabhair bheir, give.
Aitu, aidich, confess.
Turse, tuirse, tuir, lament.
Eiscrent, Eascaraid, enemy.
Fratrus, brath, betray.
Ocrer, acarach, kind, gentle,
Peracri, furachair, watchful.
Pihafi, bho bhuaidh, buadhmhor, victorious.
· *Tertiu, deireadh,* last.
Sir, sir, ask.
Sorsalem, surdail, surdamhail, active.
Mescapla, mishiobhalta, uncivil.

Another strong argument in favour of the contention that Gaelic is the language of the Umbrian Tables can be extracted from the numerous words or verbs that terminate in *mu, me, am, om, e. g.*

Arsmo, arsa mi, said I.
Carsome, greasaim, I hurry.

Hondome, aontuighim, I assent.
Spahmei, spochaim, I rob.
Persnimu, brosnuighim, I incite.
Purome, tabhaiream, tabhraim, I give.
Pertome, bhruthaim, I bruise.
Tettome, dithighim, I crush.
Todcome, tudhchaidhim, I come.
Vocucom, boghaighim, I beseech.

Those verbs readily disclose their Gaelic character. The terminations *mei, me, mo, am, mu,* are merely the first personal pronoun which is appended to Gaelic verbs. I have given the Irish equivalent of the verbs which have just been cited. A *present* tense is recognized by Irish Grammarians, while in Scottish Gaelic the tenses are, the *past* and the *future* merely; the other tenses, the present among the rest, being compounded of the substantive verb and of portions of the verb that is under consideration. It is the *present* tense of the Irish verb that I have given as the equivalent of the verbs which I have taken from the Inscriptions. Several, indeed all, of the verbs in question could easily assume a Gaelic form and preserve the distinctive termination of Gaelic verbs, e. g.

Hondome, dh-aontaich mi, I assented.
Carsome, ghreas mi, I hurried.
Persnimu, bhrosnuich mi, I incited.
Pertome, bhruth mi, I bruised.
Purome, bheir mi, I will give.
Tettome, dhithich mi, I destroyed.
Todcome, thainig mi, I came.
Spahmei, spoch mi, I robbed, etc.

It is thus the past tense of the Gaelic verb that represents the present tense of the Irish verb. It may be well to observe that the aspiration of words in Irish Gaelic is effected by placing a dot over them, and that in Scottish Gaelic aspiration is effected by inserting the letter *h.* It may be remarked here, that the evidence which the verbs under consideration furnish, is in favour of the contention of Irish Grammarians respecting the antiquity of the *present tense,* and against the opinion of Gaelic Grammarians, that Scottish Gaelic is more ancient than Irish Gaelic, because it has a past and uture tense merely, and because it is thus on the same level with

the Semitic languages so far as the number of tenses is concerned.

Stahmei, stad mi, shuidhich mi, I settled.

Asame, asam, I make.

Smuirsime, smuais mi, I break to pieces.

Tertiamne, tairthighim, I save.

Randeme, raonaim, I defeat.

Totam, tathaim, I unite.

Proman, pronnaim, I give.

Pesnimu, beascnaighim, I grant.

Eturstahmu, dh- eadar shuidhich mi, I interposed.

Termnóme, thearmunnaich mi, I protected.

Here are additional verbs which occur in the Inscriptions, and which corroborate the argument that I have sought to extract from the termination *mu, me, am, om,* representing as those monosyllables do the first personal pronoun in Gaelic.

The preterite tense, Indicative, Active, of modern Irish verbs is thus declined, *e. g., mol-aim,* I praise

Singular.	Plural.
1. *Mhol-as.*	1. *Mhol-amar.*
2. *Mhol-ais.*	2. *Mhol-abhar.*
3. *Mhol-se.*	3. *Mhol-adar.*

There are to be found in the Umbrian Tables several words with terminations similar to those of the plural which has now been given *e. g.*

Fisier, bhiomar, we were, or *bhiobhar,* you were.

Arsmor, arsa-mar, we said.

Totaper, Totar, tath-abhar, you joined.

Surur, shaor-abhar, you freed.

Tuer, thaobh-abhar, you sided.

Serfiar, shearbh-abhar, yon embittered.

Motar, mhoid-abhar, you vowed.

Nomneper, dh-aom-abhar, you inclined.

Nomneper is a verb that occurs frequently in the Inscriptions. It is doubtless the second person plural, past indicative, active of *aom,* I incline, *aomaim.* Zeuss contends that *nu* or *no* prefixed to a verb is the mark of a completed action. In this manner, the presence of *n* in *nomneper,* standing as it does for *nu* or *no,* can be satisfactorily explained. Pictet in his well-known book to which reference has

been made already, remarks (p. 152.) " that the second person plural of Irish verbs has two suffixes which are commonly used, *thaoi* and *bhar*." The second Irish form *bhar* which has, I believe, no analogy in any other European language is employed in the *present*, the *past* and the *future*, e. g., *Mealabhar*, you deceive ; *Mealfabhar*, you will deceive ; *thangabhar*, you came." According to the high authority of Pictet, therefore, *bhar* as the termination of the second person plural of verbs is confined to the Celtic languages. The words which have been already adduced along with other words in the Inscriptions that may fairly be construed and expanded in a similar manner, clearly lead to the conclusion, that *bhar* as the termination of the second person plural of verbs is to be found frequently in the Umbrian Tables, and that additional evidence is thereby furnished in favour of their purely Gaelic character.

Fisi, fisim, fisiem, fisie, fisier, fisio, futu, pifi, bue, sei ; here are words which occur very often in the Umbrian Tables. They are doubtless parts of the Celtic substantive verb, and present to us, therefore, very old forms of that verb. The very sound of those words will convince any one who has even a slight acquaintance with Gaelic as it is spoken, that their Gaelic character is unmistakable; for they call up several forms of the substantive verb as it is known in Gaelic, e. g.

> *Fisi ; bha e* or *i bha esan* or *ise*, he or she was.
> > *bhidhis*, thou wast, *bhi se*, he was, *bhidheas*, I was.
> > *bhidheadh e* or *bhiodh e*, he would be.
> > *bi thusa* or *bisa*, be thou.
> > *bitheadh e* or *i*, let him or her be.
> > *bithidh e* or *i*, he or she will be.

> *Fisim ;* ⎱ *bitheam*, let me be, *bha mi*, I was.
> *Fisiem ;* ⎰ *bithidh mi*, I shall be.
> > *bidhim*, I am accustomed to be.
> > *bhidhinn*, I used to be.
> > *bhithinn*, I would be.

> *Fisie ; bitidh he*, he will be, *bitheadh e*, let him be
> > *bhitheadh e*, he would be, *bhiodh i*.
> > *bhidheas*, I was, *bhi se*, he was.
> > *bia* or *biaidh se*, he will be.
> > *bidhir, bir*, thou usually art.

Fisier ; bhiomar, we were, *bhiobhar,* you were.
    bhiodar, they were, *biair,* thou shalt be.
    bheithi, you could be, *beidhir,* thou shalt be.
    bhatar, bhathar, was ; *bitear bithear,* will he.
    bhitheadh iad, they would be ; *bha iad,* they were.

Fisiv ; bithibh, be ye, *bha sibh,* you were, *bithidh sibh,* you will
be, *bhitheadh sibh, bhiodh sibh,* you would be.
    bithi, you are ; *bhidhis,* thou art ; *bidhidh,* be ye ; *bhithi,*
you were.

Futu ; bha thu, thou wast, *bu thu,* it was thou.
    bhitheadh thu or *bhiodh tu,* thou wouldst be.
    bhidhthea, thou wast wont to be, *bhithi,* you were wont to be.
    biathaoi, you will be, *bheidhthea,* you would be.

Pifi ; bu mhi, it was I, *bithibh,* be ye.
    bithi, you are, *bhithi,* you used to be.

Bue ; } *bu e,* it was he, *b' e.*
Budh ; } *ba h-e,* it was he, *ba,* it was, *budh,* it was.
    fa, it was, *bhus, budh, bidh, pu,* it will be.

Sei ; is e or *is i,* it is he or she, *s e, 's i.*
    is he or *it e,* it is he.
    is si, it is she.

It is thus abundantly evident that there is a close correspondence
between *fisi, fisim, fisiem, fisier,* etc., and numerous portions of the
Irish and Gaelic Substantive verbs. There is likewise a close corres-
pondence between some of the words in question and certain parts
of the substantive verb in Armorican, *e. g.*

Imperative	*Bez,* be thou.
Mood.	*Bezet,* let him or her be.
	Bezomp, let us be.
	Bezit, be ye.
	Bezent, let them be.
	Bezinn, I shall be.
Future	*Bezi,* thou shall be.
Indicative.	*Bezo,* he shall be.
	Bezimp, we shall be.
	Bezot or *biot,* you shall be.
	Bezint, they shall be.

In consideration of the conclusive evidence that has been adduced

that *fisio, fisi, fisim, etc.*, belong to the Substantive verb in Gaelic; is it not a little surprising that *fisi* has been magnified into a Divinity *Fisus* by Bréal and others, and that *ocre Fisi* has been metamorphosed into *Colli Fisio*, the Fisian Hill? Can elaborate ingenuity go to a more untenable extreme, or expend itself in more unlikely and indefensible conjectures?

As Umbrian Gaelic is so very much older than any Gaelic writings of which there has hitherto in modern times been any knowledge, it is from the Inscriptions themselves that all grammatical rules and forms must be derived. A few Grammatical references will not here be inappropriate, as bearing on the Gaelic character of the Tables, There are various terminations of the nominative singular of nouns *e. g., ei, ne, a, tor, as, re, te, us, u.* Forms of the genitive singular are *is, no, a, o.* Forms of the dative singular are *a, ef, o, etc.* The nominative plural of proper names generally terminates in *er, ir, ar, e. g.*

Pelmner, the Flamonenses.	*Aseriater*, the Asseriates.
Perscler, the Perscli.	*Peihaner*, the Vicumniae.
Rufrer, the Orbii.	*Nonair*, the Nannes.
Salier, the Salassi.	*Hoier*, the Euganei.
Atiersir, the Taurisci.	*Paveller*, the Medulli.
Popler, the Populonii.	*Serser*, the Isarci.
Treblanir, the Triumpiliui.	*Tesonocir*, the Ticinates, etc.

The common termination in modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic for patronymics and national and tribal names is *ach e. g. Albannach*-a Scotchman; *Eirionnach*, an Irishman; *Sasunnach*, an English, man; *Frangach*, a Frenchman; *Caimbeulach*, a Campbell; *Camaronach*, a Cameron. There is thus a marked difference between the Umbrian and the modern method among Gaels of expressing patronymics and tribal names. In his minute examination and collation of the Celtic languages, Pictet was led to conclude, "En Irlandais, *ara, aire, ar, air, oir*, et en gallots *awr* forment principalement des appellatifs et des noms d'agents." I believe that the endings *er, ir, ar* of the plural nouns which I have cited, represent *feara, fir*, the Gaelic words for men. Very common in Gaelic is the combination of *fear* with other nouns to indicate a trade or calling, *e. g.*

Clachair, a mason.	*Seoladair*, a sailor.

Saighdear, a soldier.   *Sgoilear*, a scholar.

Figheadair, a weaver, etc

The plural of such nouns as those ends in *an* or *ean*.

Fear, a man, is thus declined :

Singular.	Plural.
N. *Fear,*	*Fir, Feara,*
G. *Fir,*	*Fhear,*
D. *Fear,*	*Fearaibh,*
S. *Fear,*	*Fear,*
V. *Fhir,*	*Fheara,*

In the numerous proper names which occur in the Inscriptions with the endings *er, ir, ar,* in the nominative plural : the Gaelic *fir, feara* is present ; so that the words will signify, *Perscler,* the men of the Perscli, *Popler,* the men of Populonia, etc. Those terminations are eminently Gaelic ; and though the collocation or composition of the proper names in question has no exact counterpart in modern Irish or Scottish Gaelic, resemblances there are of such strength and clearness as to establish the Gaelic character of those Umbrian syllables or endings.

In Irish and Scottish Gaelic, in Manx and Welsh though not in Armorican, adjectives are declined, and, therefore, undergo inflection as nouns do. The same peculiarity attaches to adjectives in the Umbrian Inscriptions, *e. g.*

Avvei mersta,	*Aveif merstaf,*	*Mersta ancla,*
Ocrer peihaner,	*Ocre fisie,*	*Ocriper fisiv,*
Ocrem fisiem,	*Ocre fisim,*	*Totar ijovina,*
Totar ijovinar,	*Tote jovine,*	*Totam ijovinam,*
Toteme jovinem,	*Tote tarsinate,*	*Totar tarsinater,*
Totam tarsinatem,	*Trifo tarsinatem,*	*Trifor tarsinater,*
Trifo tarsinate,	*Tote ijovine erer nomne,*	

Nomner Naharcer Tapuscer, Tuscom Naharcom Tapuscom nome.

Purdito fust	*Capif purdita,*	*Purditom fust,*
Peracrei,	*Peracrio tursituto,*	*Acre tlatie,*
Acre casilos,	*Casilis Herti,*	*Casilate diram Herti.*

Mersta, ocre, tote or *tota, trifor, nomne, purdita, peracrei, casiler :* Here are adjectives, whether verbal or otherwise which indicate conclusively in the connection where they are found, that they fulfil the condition of Celtic adjectives, and undergo inflections in the

same manner as the nouns that they qualify do. I am disposed to regard *ocriper* and *ocreper* as a comparative form of *ocre* (*i. e. acarach*). Zeuss indeed calls attention to a rare termination *thir* of the comparative degree of adjectives. There is a resemblance between the *per* of *ocriper* and the *thir* which is mentioned by Zeuss.

The Infinitive of verbs in Irish and Scottish Gaelic generally ends in *adh*. In the Umbrian Inscriptions *tu* is the common ending of the Infinitive, corresponding thus very closely to *te* and *ta*, the ending of the past participle of Gaelic verbs. It is evident that the form of the verb which indicated the Infinitive in the Umbrian language, now appears in the past participle of Gaelic verbs. The correspondence between the Infinitive forms of the Inscriptions and the past participles of modern Gaelic verbs, is so apparent as not only to be readily recognized in the case of several verbs but also to furnish another argument in favour of the Gaelic character of the Umbrian Tables, *e. g.*

	Past Participle.
Merstu, to err, *mearaighim,*	*mearaighthe.* (Irish)
Ehveltu, to revenge, *aichbheilich,*	*aichbheilichte.*
Serse, to tear, *srac,*	*sracta, srachdta.*
Seritu, to harass, *saraich,*	*saraichte.*
Esisco, to satisfy, *sasaich,*	*sasaichte.*
Carsitu, to hurry, *greas,*	*greasta.*
Habitu, to desist, *ob,*	*obta, air obadh.*
Paca, to hinder, *bac,*	*bacta, air bacadh.*
Pihatu, to conquer, *buadhaich,*	*buadhaichte.*
Naratu, to ask, *iarr,*	*iarrta.*
Fetu, to get, *faigh,*	*faighte, faighteadh.*
Trebeit, to separate, *tearb,*	*tearbta.*
Ditu, to press, *dith,*	*dite.*
Osatu, to desist, *osaim,*	*osta, air osadh.*
Tenitu, to come, *thig,*	*air tighinn.*
Stiplo, to go, *siubhail,*	*siubhailte.*
Stiplatu, to cast out, *stapla.* (Armorican)	
Covertu, to assist, *cabhair,*	*cabhairte.*
Amboltu, to hinder, *amail,*	*amailte.*
Portatu, to help, *furtaich,*	*furtaichte.*
Stahito, to arrange, *suidhich,*	*suidhichte.*
Prestotu, to break, *brisd,*	*briste.*

Etuto, to refuse, *eitich*,   *eitichte.*
Vesticatu, to hire, *fasdaidh*,   *fasdaidhte.*
Aitu, to confess, *aidich*,   *aidichte.*
Combifiatu, to vow together, *comhbhoidich*, *comhbhoidichte.*
Tefruto, to give, *tabhair*,   *tabhairt, toirt.*
Furo, to bend, *fiar*,   *fiarta.*
Tesedi, to cut, *teasgaim*,   *teasgta.*

It is vain at this distance of time, and in the absence of any trust-worthy guide whatsoever, to entertain the hope, that it will be possible to reproduce with accuracy the peculiar method which the Umbrians followed in pronouncing their language, or to ascertain the exact value which they attached to any given letters or syllables. An internal argument which admits of great elaboration can be drawn from the Inscriptions themselves in support of their Celtic character, inasmuch as several interpretations of given phrases present themselves with instant readiness;—interpretations that are purely Celtic and that have to do with Celtic roots and words, and with those alone.   A few illustrations will suffice :

Table VI. *a.*

Line 1. *Curnase, chuirinn se,* I would place him.
> *Chuir iade,* They place him.
> *Chuir iad esan,* They placed him, i. e., that very person.

2. *Eesteso, An deigh so,* after this.
> *aiste so,* out of this one.

5. *Stahmei, stahmeitei.*
Eisidhim—amaoid I decide, we decide.
Stad mi, I stopped.
Shuidhich mi, I settled.
Esmei, aicme, tribe.
> *Is mi,* it is I.
> *'Us mi,* and I.

6. *Stu. sosda,* a city.
> *aisde,* out of her.
> *stigh,* inside.
> *stuth,* substance.

7. *Sue. suaip,* exchange.
> *so e,* this is he.

shuidh e, he sat.

8. *Verfale. buair fala*, tempt in vain.
   fir a' bhaile, townsmen.

9. *Nesimei. a m' ionnsuidh*, towards me.
   ionnsaighim, I attack.
   thionndaidh mi, I turned.

   Somo. seasaim, I stand.
   sheas mi, I stood.
   so mi, here I am.
   suidhidh mi, I will set.

11. *Eine. fine* a tribe.
    feadhainn, people.

12. *Foserclome. fiosrachailim*, I knowing.
    Bha sireadh leam, there was seeking by me.
    Bha aircill leam, there was lying in wait by me

13. *Smursime. smuais mi*, I broke to pieces.
    smur chum, to the dust.

19. *Vasor verisco. bhasmhor fearachas*, deadly manhood.
    fasmhor fearachas, thriving manhood.

20. *Paca ostensendi eso iso ostendu.*
    bac ioc dean cain a siad ioc dean.
       To withdraw the tribute which they paid.
    bacadh an staonachaidh a bha iad a' staonachadh.
    checking the inclination to which they were tending.

21. *Teio-subocav suboco,*
    Tiom-suighim suibhich, To gather together, a gathering.
       Tha sibh subhachas subhach,
          You are cheerful in your happiness.

22. *Fos sei pacer sei,*
    Fos ise feochair ise, Still let your valour appear.
    Fos sibh bhacar sibh, also you, you were hindered.

24. *Tio-esu, Daimheach,* a relative.
       Bha esan, he was.
       Tha esan, he is.

27. *Virseto avirseto fas est,*
    farsuing anfharsuing fas aisde,
       From near and from far pour out.
       Fearachas so am fearachas so fas aisde.

　　　　　This manhood growing out of that manhood.

55. *Sevom surur purdovitu,*

　　　　　Suaip saorsa furtaich-baidh.

　　　　　In exchange for independence, helpful alliance.

　　　　　'Se bhuam shaorar furtaichte.

　　　　　It is from me the assisted men saved.

　Mefa spefa,

　　Meas easba, little respect, disregarding.

　fo mi, fo sibh, under me, under you.

　　　　　　　　　By means of me, by means of you.

　　Table VI. *b.*

Line 5. *Ape sopo postro peperscust.*

　　　　　a bho sabh bho eadar bibhsaigh siad.

　　　　　By which they were deprived of mutual help.

　　　　　fein sheap bho stri a dh-fhabradu cuis, etc.:

　　　　　He himself went stealthily from the strife to favour

　　　　　　　the cause, etc.

　35. *Sehemo atropusau.*

　　　　　Cenomani aithre barc.

　　　　　The Cenomani repenting desertion.

　　　　　Cenomani bhatar a putadh,

　　　　　The Cenomani they were pushing.

　47. *Urinca irohatu, gairm gu trei treig,* to summon to withdraw.

　　　　　crion cath ro bhadar, they were (men) of small fight.

　48. *Efrar. Tabhair,*

　　　　　A bheirear that will be given.

　52. *Ehesu—nosne ier ehesu*

　　　　　ach—an suaip foir ach.

　　　　　But (the Populonans) who refuse to exchange help.

　　　　　ach a so nuas bha iad ach a so.

　　　　　But hereupon down they were, but hereupon.

　63. *Simo. Team,* to warn.

　　　　　Is iomadh. There are many.

　　Table VI. *(a)*

Line 2. *Airof, aoibh er ibh,* ye tribes.

　　　　　abraioh, say ye.

　3. *Tiom-plener. daimh-fhlann,* blood relations.

　　　　　D'am bheilear, to whom there is.

De'm bheilear, of whom there is.

Evidence is furnished by their Tables that the Umbrians were for a long time in possession of their alphabet, whether it was borrowed by them from the Romans or not. The process of phonetic decay from which the Gaelic language has suffered so severely that the orthography is no safe guide to the pronunciation of Gaelic words, had already manifested itself. Thus Anderse, Marte, and Martier represent Ancherse, Marche, Marchier. Had the alphabet been a recent acquisition, it would have been employed phonetically. Happily for the philologist, the Umbrian orthography like that of all the Celtic languages, with the exception of Manx, is historical.

Fortunately the name of the author of the Umbrian inscriptions is given in Tables V. b. and VII. b. He is Herti, King of Umbria, and Suzerain over all the Celtic as well as over many Ligurian tribes from the Rhaetian Alps to the northern border of Umbria, and from the confines of Gaul to Istria. His name contains the root of the well-known word *Arthur*, and corresponds with Art, the name of more than one king in Irish legendary history. There are even some curious coincidences between the story of his Tables and the history of Art Aonfhir, who is said to have reigned in Ireland in the middle of the second century A. D. (Keating, p. 248.)

Table VII. b. ends with the words *sins a ccc.*, which may be interpreted " the 300th year of the age or era." The question at once suggests itself, " Who can tell when the Umbrian era began ?" The other Tables mention Marcius Philippus, Valerius Flaccus, L. Porcius Licinus and Hasdrubal, but not as contemporaries : so that our only safe inference must be that the events recorded must have been later than 186 B. C., when Marcus Philippus made his unfortunate campaign in Liguria. (Livy xxxix, 22.)

The Umbrian Tables are rhetorical in the extreme, and abound in repetitions that are apparently unnecessary and indeed useless. Some valuable fragments of history are to be found in the Tables. The enumeration of tribes and peoples is of great importance to the Ethnologist, *e. g.* the three divisions of the Tyrrhenians, the five divisions of the disloyal Perscli, the fourteen tribes of Ijovine, and the five tribes of the Insubres.

Liguria, Cisalpine Gaul and Venetia are the three regions with which the Tables deal. There is much difficulty in identifying the

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names of the places that are mentioned, as well because the informa-
tion which can be gathered regarding such places from classical his-
torians and geographers is very meagre, as because the Romans either
translated the native Celtic name, or so adapted it that it became
significant and euphonious to Latin ears.

Concordia, Patavium, and Verona in Venetia were Celtic settle-
ments, which in the Umbrian Tables were called Andersa, Hebetafe-
ben and Purdin. The well-known cities Cremona and Placentia
were in Umbrian, Crabove and Fiso-Sansie. Though, with the
changeful circumstances of those old Celtic tribes, the names of places
must have disappeared, the Italian topographer may find some of the
ancient names still lingering in obscure portions of the region with
which the Tables deal.

SUMMARY OF THE UMBRIAN NARRATIVE.

The Perscli, a generic title, embracing most of the tribes of West-
ern Venetia and Transpadana, who did not belong to the Cenomani
or to the Insubres, formed the Umbrian army of occupation in those
regions. The tribes composing the Perscli appointed the general of
the whole army by rotation. When the turn of the Asseriates of
Venetia to elect a general came round, they nominated one of them-
selves who bore the name Parfa. The other tribes were not pleased
at the election of Parfa, because they wished to retain their former
general, whose name was Appei. The army revolted under Appei,
and was favoured in so doing by the city Concordia, which though
Celtic in origin, was under the joint jurisdiction of Pisa and Luna.
Appei and his insurgents, joined by the Taurisci, Flamonienses,
Isarci, Cenomani, and other tribes eager to be free from paying
tribute to Herti, sacked Tarvisum in Venetia, which stood in
friendly relations to Parfa, as a matter of revenge; and then passing
into Transpadana took possession of Tetellus where they established
themselves. Encouraged by this revolt, the Insubres who had joined
Appei and had doubtless been incited by him, marched southward to
the Padus, pursuing the fugitives from Tetellus. Herti, gathering
an army in Umbria, marched northward and defeated the ravagers
at Brixellum. Nevertheless, the subsequent history shows that a
large body of the Insubres still remained in Cispadana, north of the
country of the Apuans.

The time was one of general upheaval. The Populonians of E truria took advantage of it to extend their colonial system, attempting to gain the Apuans and Vicumnians of Liguria and succeeding in detaching from Umbria the Adrians and Fiscaglians of Venetia, and in taking possession of Edro ; at the same time inciting the mischievous Concordians to make trouble in the north. One of the tribes most hurtful to Umbrian interests was that of the Triumpilini who dwelt north of Brixia. They endeavoured to withdraw from their allegiance, but with very partial success the Vicumnians, Ticinates, and Boii. However, they succeeded, in withdrawing Brixia and its colony Verona.

The Crabovian tribes, in whose country the Roman colony of Cremona was situated, thought the time favourable for reconquering their ancient seat, and besieging Cremona, called for the aid of the Triumpilini. The whole of the revolted Perscli, from Eporedia, Brixia, Ateste, and Vicetia, with the Vocontii, who dwelt about Vercellae, responded. Herti summoned the faithful tribes of Ijovine or the race of Feinne, to the relief of Cremona, and apparently succeeded in raising the siege, though in his rhetoric he forgets to state the fact.

Taking advantage of Gallic dissentions, the Genoese of Liguria either took Placentia, or taking possession of the surrounding country, besieged it. Herti, alluding to this result of disunion, summoned the Ticinates and the faithful Fenians to aid him in delivering this city from its invaders. He next turned his attention to Bergomum which was similarly besieged by the rebellious Perscli. Through the loyal Boii, he succeeded in winning back Verona. The people of this city and Vannia endeavoured to get Arnipo,—the Nahepara of the Etruscan Tables, who had been sent from Umbranum in the country of the Boii to quell rebellion in Venetia, but who had himself rebelled—to join them in loyalty. He refused to do so, and going westward tried to incite the people of Comum to deeds of violence. The example of Verona, however, was contagious and many disloyal tribes even among the Perscli and the Cenomani, returned to their allegiance. The original inhabitants of Bononia and the Claternians gave assistance.

Appei made his way towards the Apuan border, and Anovi-himu , the Annovi-gabe of the Etruscan Tables, whom Herti ordered to repel the invasion of Appei, was won over by the rebel general. Thus

the Albans were added to Umbria's enemies.   Yet Bobium, the
Apuans, and the lord of Compiano remained faithful.   Herti pro-
tected the Ligurian border by the Etruscan forces, and by the Trian
tribe about Clastidium.   He placed the Anamani in Umbra-
num to guard the Umbrian border proper, and sent the Umbranians
to guard the Venetian border at Patavium.   As a reward for their
loyalty, he granted independent union to the Anamani, Ædui and
Umbranici.   In the Table he enumerates fourteen loyal tribes, half
of whom seem to have dwelt in Liguria, and the other half in Ven-
etia and Transpadana.

After this, he turned his attention to Venetia where the Populon-
ians were carrying on war with the aid of the Adrians and Fiscag-
lians ; while the Salluvii, Marici, and Albans in Western Transpadana
and Liguria were acting in concert with them.   He called Ravenna
on the north and the Epanterii of Liguria on the west, to aid him,
and commissioned two Vetulonian generals Marte Ijorsi and Honde
Serfie, to exterminate the Saluvii and the Marici who were special
objects of his hatred.   Again, we find him at Sesterno on the borders
of Liguria, engaged in expelling the Insubres with the aid of the
peoples of Comum and Cameliomagus.   The Taurini in Dertona were
wavering, but the Inscription ends before the result of his appeal to
them can be stated.

The two short Tables VII. b. and V. b. contain, the one an in-
junction to have no dealings with Appei, with the Taurisci, Populonia
and the lord of Concordia ; the other, a statement of the tribute,
which the Taurisci, Cenomani, Tigurini, Flamonienses and Isarci re-
fused to pay, and of the larger tribute imposed upon them by the
new masters.

The Umbrian Tables, therefore, form an historical document, deal-
ing as they do with a very important period and with very important
circumstances in the history of that portion of Italy which is em-
braced by them.   From the ethnological and geographical notes
which are appended, it can readily be seen, that powerful evidence of
a corroborative kind in favour of the interpretation of the Tables
which is now advanced, can be gathered from Greek and Latin his-
torians and geographers.   An interpretation, then, which presents
an important and continuous narrative and which furnishes an intel-
ligible and sufficient reason for the preparation of such Tables at all,
is *a priori* to be regarded as more sensible, and as possessed of a much

larger measure of verisimilitude than the interpretation which Bréal and others have offered. To contend that words denoting lapwings, and magpies, and ravens, and crows, etc., occur in the Umbrian Tables; to be told that such words as smurrim, tettum, rantim, pertum, etc., are Latin words, while it is clear that if they are Latin words they have the very questionable merit of being original and altogether unintelligible to the ordinary Latin scholar ; to be told by Bréal that such interpretations as these are to be put on some of the phrases that occur in the Tables (though no one has elsewhere ever heard of a Fisian Hill, and of deities bearing the designation Die Grabovie, Trebo, Jovio, Marti Grabovie, Fiso Sancio) Die Grabovie piato collen Fisium, sues altiles tres facito Trebo Iovio pro colle Fisio ; tres boves facito Marti Grabovie pro colle Fisio, sues lactentes tres facito Fiso sancio pio colle Fisio :—such considerations are of themselves *a priori* not very acceptable, and do not deserve to be regarded as offering a satisfactory explanation of a serious document. The honest contention must be strengthened as it can be, and is, by any amount of cumulative evidence, that such an interpretation as Bréal has advanced, intangible and chimerical in many of its forms and explanations, must be regarded as altogether inferior to the historical interpretation of which a somewhat full summary has been given.

NOTE :—It has not been found possible to print *in extenso* the decipherment of the Umbrian Inscriptions, together with the Geographical and Ethnological notes, that are appended, all of which are in readiness.